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THE TARIFF.

Speech of William B. Shepard,

OF NORTH CAROLINA.

Delivered in the House of Representatives, January 29th, 1833, on the motion of Mr. Huntington to strike out the 31st and 32d Sections of the TARIFF BILL, imposing a duty on Tea and Coffee.

MR CHAIRMAN,

I moved last night that the Committee should rise, not because I had any thing to say, that could not be as well said then as now, or that I had not as lief say then as now, but because I had not the physical ability after a session of six hours, to give coherency to the few ideas, with which it is my intention to trouble the Committee. I am well aware that every gentleman here is desirous of disposing of this tedious subject, without more debate; none can be more tired of it than I am.

Man has been denominated by some enthusiastic admirers of political economy, an animal that makes exchanges, he has here been called a plundering animal; were I permitted to add one to the many definitions which have been given by the philosophers of that singular creature, I should say, he is an animal that makes Tariff speeches. The definition would undoubtedly characterize him, as he is known in the United States, more particularly on this floor—here "docti inductique," we all speak on this subject; I shall, therefore, make no apology to the House for indulging a national propensity—"'tis no sin for a man to labor in his vocation." I am not, however, one of those [illegible] believe that [illegible] ject is de[illegible] of the tri[illegible] to me, v[illegible] "[illegible]

It [illegible] ject of fear[illegible] its adjustm[illegible] of intellige[illegible] Sir, I mos[illegible] require ca[illegible] didly and freely, [illegible] the subject of this p[illegible] a great responsibility rest[illegible] bers of this House; a responsibility which if we fail now to meet, we basely abandon the high trust committed to our care.

The United States exhibit, at this time, a spectacle hitherto unseen and unknown upon earth, one that for the credit of humanity, is to be hoped will never occur again; a people endowed with all that Heaven or earth can bestow to make them happy and contented, abounding in every thing essential to prosperity, and even grandeur, among the nations of the world (if the term is not offensive to some around me) and yet amidst all these blessings, we daily hear it proclaimed in high places, we are on the eve of revolution. A revolution to put down what? Some usurper living on the vitals of the community? Some conqueror revelling in the spoils of vanquished provinces, snatching from wealth its abundance, from penary its pittance, to swell the pride, the pomp and power of an individual? No, Sir! a revolution to put down the power of the majority of the people themselves—a revolution which I can compare to nothing in the history of the madness and folly of mankind, but the infidel fury of the anarchists of France, who desecrated the temple of the only true God, to erect what they called the statue of reason in its stead. The nations of Europe are now contending for self government; we seem to be getting tired of it; they are contending against the will and dominion of one man; some here complain of the dominion of the many. What, on the other side of the Atlantic, is called by an admiring world the beau ideal of liberty, I have heard on this floor pronounced the perfection of despotism. Such, alas, is the unhappy, the miserable condition of poor human nature!

Whatever may be the final action of Congress upon the subject of the revenue, nothing should be done without caution and deliberation, and after a careful inspection of our commercial, agricultural and manufacturing situation, upon our decision of this question rests the prosperity of every man in the community.—I look, Sir, upon the man who would dissever these three great interests, indissoluble in their natural affinities, and essential to the prosperity of every great nation, as a mere empiric, a political quack whose nostrums may momentarily infuse vigor into the body politic, but eventually leave it haggard and depressed. And unless the fickle legislation of Congress is to be the reproach of our institutions, and the curse of the people of this country, we ought to place this matter on such a basis, that hereafter, every man may rest secure, himself and his property being under the protection of equal, just, and permanent laws. For, if there is a tyranny more peculiarly hard to bear, more harrassing to the spirit, it is that of fluctuating legislation; its oppression is more severe from being unexpected; no industry can obviate it, no sagacity can foresee it.

When the tariff laws of 1824 and 1828 were under discussion, it was contended with great force and justice by the anti-tariff party, that all free governments should interfere as little as possible with the domestic arrangements and industry of its citizens, that all material changes in the policy of a nation, the object of which was the transferring capital from one occupation to another, should be made with great caution, and only on great emergencies. If these propositions are true, of such governments generally, they are still more worthy of attention in a government like ours, which is of strictly enumerated powers, and dependent for its stability on public opinion—in a government where the fashion of today may be reprobated by to-morrow, and an investment of capital, made under the sanction of the national legislature, may be prostrated by a fickle legislation, influenced by the whim and caprice of the moment, or the varying policy and and interest of rival political parties. It was upon such principles of general reasoning, that I am now, and always have been, opposed to the policy of the tariff laws.

I thought such a system ought not to [illegible] on the country, but that every [illegible] be permitted to follow such [illegible] were most congenial to his [illegible] position. That if by this [illegible] advanced or slowly [illegible] accumulation of property, they [illegible] more virtuous, less exposed to [illegible] of ordinary wealth, a state [illegible] little congenial with plain [illegible] institutions. I thought, likes[illegible] if the policy of protective laws [illegible] doubtful, the tariff of 1828 was ill judged and inexpedient, it attempted too much, it embraced subjects of opposite characters, while with one hand it gave a bounty, with the other it imposed a tax upon the same thing, shewing, as has been correctly observed by the anti-tariff memorial, that where there was "an avowed want of information on the subject, it would have been a wiser course to wait until that information was obtained." In fact, Sir, the tariff of 1828 was not intended by many of those who assisted in making it, to aid peculiarly any species of manufacture except that of a President, and we are now reaping the bitter fruits of such legislation.

The act, however, has passed; it was imposed on the country for weal, or for woe: it has disappointed in some measure the hopes of its friends and the predictions of its enemies; it is recorded among your laws, and no human power can place the country in the same situation it was in, prior to its passage.

The question now however, is not one of laying on, but of taking off duties; we are enquiring how we shall provide for the present posture of affairs, our national debt is about to be paid off, we shall have upon our hands a large surplus revenue, how shall we relieve the country from the anticipated danger of this alarming plethora? We are told by some of our statesmen—I beg pardon of the shades of the illustrious men who once bore that name—I meant some of our politicians, that the national legislature cannot be trusted with one dollar more than the bare necessities, the stern exigencies of the government require.—Bargain, intrigue and corruption, we are told, will stalk barefaced and uncovered throughout this hall, unless speedily prevented. I have not yet, Sir, lost all confidence in republican institutions; I do not believe the people of this country are yet sufficiently corrupted to send members to this House, base enough, either to barter away their liberty or squander their money; when I do believe it, I shall think representative governments a mere delusion. I have, however, no objection, that gentlemen should estimate their power of resisting temptation, by whatever standard they please.

It is impossible at this period to discuss this matter of the tariff exclusively on its own merits: it has become so intermingled with all the political questions of the times, has been the cause of so much excitement, that it is thrust into every question and relation in society.—In the few discursive remarks which I intend making on this subject, I hope the committee will pardon me, if in following the examples of others, I talk about that subject most interesting to myself. It may very properly be asked why this inordinate desire, at this session of Congress, to hurry through the House a bill of such vast importance as this evidently is? The bill of July, 1832 has not yet gone into operation: no man can tell its precise effect upon the revenue of the country. Has that bill been found to deceive its friends in reducing the revenue? I will trouble the Committee with a few words in relation to that measure: I am more inclined to do so, because I perceive it is about to be murdered in the womb, and before the final blow is struck, I will do it an act of passing justice. Having voted for that bill, in company with a large majority of my colleagues, and a majority of the Southern delegation, as a bill to reduce the revenue of the government and to relieve the people from the pressure of the tariff system, I am surprized to find endeavors very industriously made to circulate a belief, that so far from alleviating the burdens of the South, they are aggravated by that bill. I saw an article in the Telegraph, of this city, published a few days ago addressed to the people of Georgia, and bearing among others the signature of a gentleman on this floor, [Mr. Clayton] containing the following words: "The character of the act of 1832 is distinctly marked. Its diminished credits, its requisition of cash payments, its increase of the value of the pound sterling, its discriminating duties will show that the burdens imposed upon you are decidedly increased, yet you are told that this act is a concession—'an effort to moderate the burdens of the South,' that, like the travelled dove, it comes with the olive branch to give you future security. The treacherous kiss of Judas is not more deceptive; a concession with the odious principle of protection retained as the permanent policy of the government! No, it is no concession, its object is rather to lull you into a false security." This paper, although addressed to the people of Georgia, is evidently intended for the whole South, and conveys an imputation upon the intelligence or integrity of every Southern anti-tariff gentleman who voted for the bill of 1832. As one of those individuals, I am not disposed that the slightest taint of inconsistency shall be attached to any vote of mine to gratify any man, any set of men, or any party whatever. Upon the subject of this tariff, I have acted upon but one set of principles, and upon those same principles, I intend to continue to act.

This is a repetition of a charge contained in an address published by the S. Carolina delegation shortly after the close of the last session, and circulated very generally throughout the southern country. These loving appeals to one's constituents are not generally fair subjects of criticism, they are intended for the partial eye of friendship, some of those names attached to these statements are, however so notorious in connection with this tariff matter, that they carry great weight with them, among two thirds of the people south of the Potomac, it therefore becomes necessary that even small errors, such as great minds inadvertently make, should at once be corrected. It is very idle to say, that the tariff bill of 1832, recognized the principle of protection; it recognized it no more, and no less, than every act for reducing revenue, or raising revenue has done since the organization of the government, the allegation therefore is merely gratuitous. As regards "diminished credits and cash payments," the impolicy of the existing law was so satisfactorily shown, by the memorial of the anti-tariff convention that I voted to repeal it, in compliance with the unanimous wish as expressed in the memorial of the southern people.

Another source of lamentation is "the increased value of the pound sterling."—By the law of 1799 regulating the value of foreign coins, the pound sterling of England was estimated to be worth $4 44 of our currency: owing to the fluctuation in the relative value of gold and silver its real value had become $4 80 cts. I voted to put it at its true and real value, because I like to call things by their right names; I had, however, a still better reason, when I vote for a bill laying a duty of 10, 15, or 25 per cent., when I assist in publishing to the world that such a duty has been laid, I am desirous of dealing candidly and fairly with the public. I would not assist in granting a boon in the first part of an instrument, and insert a condition in the latter part rendering the grant valueless. To have pursued a different course might have evinced more political cunning, but would not have added much to the reputation of the American Congress; as one of the humblest of its members, I am willing to share the [illegible] of that measure.

The bill of July, however, it is said, makes discriminating duties; it releases luxuries from taxation, and throws the burden of supporting the government upon the necessaries of life, it oppresses the poor, "'tis is pitiful, 'tis wondrous pitiful," and doubtless has been the foundation of many a moving address and eloquent harangue. It may have been said in the furioso language of the day, that grinding, cruel, and unrelenting majority of Congress, insensible to the miseries and suffering of an oppressed people, have had the unprecedented, enormous, and daring effrontery to grant to a high toned and chivalrous people, their tea and coffee without tax. Horrible as this charge seems to be, and alarming as it is to a conscientious man, it is very easy to show that it comes with a very bad grace from the source it does; and as applicable to the state of things in the South, has little or no foundation. It is difficult in a country so prosperous as every part of the United States is to draw a distinction between luxuries and necessaries, in every community, they are merely relative terms, in rude and savage states of society necessaries are such articles as sustain existence; as society advances in refinement what was formerly a luxury becomes a necessary. I would here remark that the argument of the honorable gentleman near me [Mr. Choate] that the southern people, in proportion to their wealth and population, are non-consumers, is literally true.

It is perfectly well known to every gentleman familiar with the domestic arrangements of the mass of the southern people, that two thirds of them are clad in their own domestic manufactures: I have known many planters, the owners of large families of slaves, who purchase nothing from the stores but iron, salt, tea, coffee, sugar, and a few other trifling articles of luxury or convenience. Now, is it not more important to these men that they should purchase such articles as tea and coffee cheaply, which are of daily and constant use, than the broad cloths of England; the latter surely are not so essential to their comfort, and the want of them is not depriving them of an article upon which they set much value? They prefer their own domestic manufactures, and I hope the day never will arrive when the loom and the spindle are to be silent around the hearths of our fathers; to me there is no sight more cheering, than that of a family clad entirely by its own labor: it presents a spectacle of substantial comfort and sturdy independence, not surpassed in any quarter of the globe. I confess I never visit such scenes, without returning from them elevated and purified in feeling: I go back in imagination to other times, when the men of homespun were legislating in your halls of Congress and fighting the battles of the revolution. So long as the Federal Government's tax gatherer does not cross the doors of this worthy class of society, they are independent of its legislation: secure in the "noiseless tenor of their way," they are happy, unmolested by the visions of avarice, or the dreams of ambition. If this distinction between necessaries and luxuries were substantially true, who has any right to complain? If luxuries tend to elevate man in the scale of social existence; if they follow in the march of civilization and make a part of it, why in a government of equals should not every thing that tends to refine our natures, to smooth the asperities of life and elevate man in the scale of animated beings, be placed within the reach of the poorest individual in society?

Having disposed of the morality of this matter, let us now look to its logic. I will not take up the tariff bill of 1832, and comparing it with the act of 1828 ask gentleman if a reduction of the duties on iron, on cotton goods, on sugar, on woollen clothe, on negro clothing, on blankets, &c. was not a reduction of the duties on the necessaries of life, this would be confuting them by the plain rule of subtraction, a species of argument utterly beneath gentlemen, who deal in the sublimities of metaphysics; I will take the rule they themselves have furnished.

The theory which has produced such excitement in one portion of the South against the tariff, and which I presume is believed by all those who condemn the act of 1832, if we include the ultra tariff men, who by their associations in that vote, illustrate the truth of the proposition "that the extremes are [illegible] nearer together than the [illegible]" is thus expounded by one of its ablest supporters, [Report Committee of Ways and Means by Mr. McDuffie, February 8, 1832.] "As the restrictions imposed upon the production of southern industry are affected by the agencey of indirect taxes, the burdens imposed upon the planting States by the protecting system, are not very inaccurately measured by the amount of taxes levied upon their productions. And when the inequality of the government disbursements are added to the inequality of contributions exacted by import duties it may be confidently affirmed that the burdens imposed upon the planting States by the taxation, prohibition and disbursements of the federal government are more than equal to the amount of taxes levied upon those imports which are obtained in exchange for the three great agricultural staples of cotton, tobacco and rice. That a duty upon an import is equivalent to the same amount of duty upon the export which has been exchanged for it, is but a self evident proposition to all who correctly comprehend its import. The planter [illegible] injuriously affected by the [illegible] as he would be by the [illegible] teen [illegible] from wh[illegible] lected. Now, [illegible] position is true, and I admit its truth for the present occasion, the growers of rice cotton and tobacco, which articles constitute two thirds of the American productions exchanged for foreign goods, pay two thirds of the gross amount of duties charged on foreign importations, or as has been estimated 40 per cent, a per cent somewhat below the true amount, let us apply this rule to the reduction of duties by the tariff of 1832, to ascertain the relief yielded to the rice, cotton and tobacco men: if the reduction of the revenue by the bill of July, 1832, amounted to $5,187,978, as was estimated by the Treasury Department, the relief to those individuals exclusively, was $2,074,831. Is this no relief to this class of society? They must know otherwise, if they honestly believe they bear so large a share of the burden; and if we take into consideration the small class of individuals even in the South, directly interested in the production of these articles, the relief to them, under this view of their case and by that bill, was of vast importance. But, Sir, what becomes of this oppression on the poor? Are the poor the growers of rice, cotton and tobacco, or was it intended as a mere figure of speech, a pathetic appeal.

Spargere ambiguas voces
In vulgum.

Had I voted against the bill, believing this modern doctrine, I should have felt myself bound, as a consistent man, to have gone home and told my constituents, that a proposition was made in Congress to relieve them from two millions of their burdens, which I had rejected with scorn, but that I had brought them the glorious remedy of nullification. I knew the temper of that people too well,—I know they are devotedly attached to the Union of these States, as the last hope of liberty upon earth, and that they were not inclined to jeopard it, upon a doubtful point of political economy. Whenever, sir, I persuade the people whom I repre-

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yond all doubt, that this country is well adapted both by situation and capacity, to sustain such a manufacture, as well as any other country: and therefore, it deserves the attention of the legislature. We now produce 150,000,000 pounds more of cotton than Great Britan consumes of all sorts; where is this large surplus to find a purchaser? Shall we prefer to build up the manufactures of all countries to our own. I think when it is so very convenient and advantageous to ourselves, there is no great sin in permitting charity to begin at home. The cotton manufactured in this country, amounts to about 214,882 bales, capital employed $41,914,984, annual value $32,-155,795; employed about 50,000 men and women. Does not this benefit the grower of cotton? I have heared it so vehemently denied, that I am indisposed to hazard any opinion of my own; I will, therefore quote one that will be respected by all parties. During the summer of 1831, a convention was held in Philadelphia of persons opposed to the tariff; that convention was composed principally of Southern men, they appointed a committee to draft a memorial to Congress, pointing out the burdens of the tariff laws. That memorial was written by Mr. Gallatin, and as might be expected, is incomparably the ablest exposition of the evils of the tariff, these very prolific times have produced.—In it are these words: "Whatever impulse may have been given to the production of American cotton by the domestic manufactures of that material, is therefore a clear gain to the community. This, for the very reason that the amount cannot be calculated with precision, has undoubtedly been greatly exaggerated. But it cannot be doubted that the consumption of cotton goods in the United States has, to a certain extent, been increased by the establishment of domestic manufactures, [illegible] all," [illegible] is "out of thine own mouth will I condemn thee." If therefore we are to believe the cotton planters' memorial, and not their advocates on this floor, they are decidedly benefitted by the tariff. It is not the least curious part of this matter that while this house was listening day after day to the most pathetic descriptions of the miseries and sufferings of the cotton planters, from the tariff, a memorial was laying on our tables emanating almost exclusively from this interest, admitting themselves benefitted.

Let us now examine what claim the articles of sugar has to a slow death; when Louisiana was purchased from France, the cultivation of sugar had commenced in that country; common justice requires that we should not unnecessarily cause the planter to regret that he had ever exchanged the yoke of the Spanish or French monarchies, for the free government of America.

At the close of the war in 1816, Congress added half a cent to the duty as a part of a general system, which duty has given a great stimulus to the cultivation of sugar in Louisiana; which country now produces two thirds of the sugar consumed in the United States. I presume it will not be doubted that the duty is essential to the prosperity of the plantations, and without it, the cultivation of sugar must cease. The present price of sugar is about five and a half cents per pound in New Orleans, the whole expense of producing sugar, I am informed, is about three and a half cents per pound; leaving about two cents profit to the planter; which is two cents are his means to purchase slaves and increase his cultivation; if, therefore, you diminish his profits one half cent, you diminish his capacity to purchase one fourth.—The consumption of sugar in the United States amounts to about 150,000 hogsheads, the crop of Louisiana to about 100,000. An increase, therefore, of one half the present number of slaves in that country must take place before the domestic consumption of sugar can be supplied. And when we take into consideration the astonishing increase, both in numbers and the means of consumption of the northern, middle and western States, it is but fair to suppose that Louisiana will for many years to come, furnish a market for the surplus slave labor of the south. The present number of slaves in the United States, is about 2,-153,370, worth $430,674,000, the destruction of the sugar cultivation would undoubtedly depress the price of slaves in proportion as the impetus, it has hitherto given, has increased it, which has been estimated, and I think very modestely, at 50 dollars a head. An enormous depression of the value of property for no conceivable benefit; the bill on the table does not propose to reduce the revenue by it, for it proposes to take a half cent off of sugar, and put a cent a pound on coffee; now if the revenue is really wanting, why make this absurd exchange, if not, it must share the fate of every thing. There is no State in this Union whose prosperity is so closely interwoven with the welfare of the others, as Louisiana; she as a great consumer for the rest, her labor is drawn from the old Southern States to cultivate her fields, her clothing from the north and her food from the west. It is worthy of attention, to remark the gradual reduction in the price of sugar, even under the duty of three cents per pound; during the last twelve years, sugar has been gradually declining in price, until it has reached a depression somewhat below half its price in 1819 and 1820: nor is it altogether certain, that if the duty were entirely removed, the consumer would derive any immediate benefit, although ultimately, the article would be cheaper. The price of an article is regulated by the proportion of supply to demand; unquestionably, therefore, if the duty were suddenly removed, prudence would dictate to the Louisiana planter, to contract immediately is operations, in order to avoid ultimate ruin; unless, therefore, the reduction of supply at home were relieved by the increase from abroad, the price would rise, which state of things would, at all events, produce great fluctuations in the market.—The production of sugar is not like that of cotton or woollen goods; this article is annually produced in a limited section of country, and cannot be increased or diminished at will: the winds and the rains of Heaven must be consulted.

If there is any part of the tariff system more peculiarly unjust and indefensible, it is the duty on iron: this is an article absolutely indispensable to every class in society, and yet it is more highly taxed by this bill than any thing else, and without a corresponding benefit.—Upon rolled bar iron, the duty is 76 per cent., on sheet and hoop iron, 93 per cent. Were I disposed to appeal to the meanest and basest passion that actuates the human mind—the passion of avarice—a passion that regards its personal wants, its personal appetites as every thing—the sufferings of others, the glory and independence of the country as nothing, it would be an easy matter to produce an excitement against this unjust preference of one interest to another. There is no article in the whole catalogue of human wants, so essential to man as iron, nor one that so immediately contributes to his well being, its use marks the first step from barbarity to civilization, and yet it is more highly favored by this bill than any thing else. Why is this? Has Pennsylvania deserved a better fate than any other State in the Union? Did she bring to the South in 1828, "in her utmost need," one solitary vote? No! She went in a solid phalanx for the "bill of abominations;" and she is to be spared; the lightning glances over, illuminates, but never touches her: happy Pennsylvania! she has thirty electoral votes, and no candidate for the Presidency.

It is said by Mr. Gallatin, that "the iron works of west Pennsylvania, were, and still continue to be protected against foreign iron, and that made within one hundred miles of the sea shore, by the expense of transportation which is still forty dollars a ton." There certainly then, can be no propriety in taxing so greatly the whole sea board from Maine to Louisiana, to sustain a manufacture which cannot flourish under these natural advantages. The mountains of North Carolina are full of iron ore, and yet no reasonable man would think the government justifiable in placing a duty upon iron, sufficient to compensate the owners of those mines for making rail roads and canals to bring their iron to market. Sir, I believe if the duties on iron and hemp were removed, the much abused tariff of 1832 is preferable to the bill on your table.

It requires, it has been said by an ingenious writer, a great deal of philosophy to observe that which is seen every day, if this were not true, it would be impossible to account for the discrepancy of opinions upon the practical results of this protective system.—Every one sees that the country is generally prosperous, for which different causes are assigned. I do not think the prosperity of the people of this country dependent upon the action of the government, nor is desirable that it should be. I believe there is an elasticity and vigor in the American character, that will adapt itself to any system, the wisdom or folly of this House may adopt; that the tariff compels the consumers of many articles to pay more for them, than they otherwise would is true, but that it produces one half of the evils or benefits charged to it, is a position that has no existence, except in the heated imaginations of partizans.

It is said, all this may be true, but by some legerdemain not yet explained, although we have heard repeated attempts, the whole burden is thrown upon the south, the tax paying south. It is extraordinary that any section of the country should claim the peculiar privilege of paying the taxes of the government, the idea results from a species of egotism as absurd as that of an astrologer, mentioned I think, in the Spectator, who had studied the aspect of the heavens with such intensity of zeal, that he at length believed himself master of the winds; and would very graciously, and with extreme condescension, offer to a friend, going a journey, any wind he might have a fancy for. There is, however, we are told, a theory a self evident proposition, that explains the matter; it has been said, [report of the Committee of Ways and means by Mr. McDuffie] "as the restrictions imposed upon the productions of the southern industry, are affected by the agency of indirect taxes, the burdens imposed upon the planting States by the protective system, are not very inaccurately measured by the amount of taxes levied upon articles exchanged for those productions," or in other words, a duty on imports is equivalent to a duty upon exports. I regard this as the most pernicious dogma that has ever been started in this country, its direct and inevitable tendency is a destruction of the Union; for if their position be true, collect what amount of revenue you may, whether twelve per cent., or fifty per cent., the greater part of the revenue must be paid by that portion of the country producing articles best adapted to foreign markets. I will not say, sir, as was said by a gentleman from South Carolina, [Mr Davis] during the last session, "he doubted whether any government, except the State government was worth the taxes the people paid for it," but this I will say, that on those terms, or if this theory is true, the federal government never can sustain itself. Could I believe, by the inevitable acts of your legislation, I was made a hewer of wood and a drawer of water for the rest of the Union, I should feel myself degraded, were I to come here to debate the matter, I should feel myself impelled by every principle that ever nerved the arm or swelled the bosom of an American freeman to resist such oppression; I am not therefore surprized that sections of our country are maddened almost to phrenzy under the operation of this doctrine. To have believed it, and borne it so long, is a proof of their great patriotism and most eminent discretion. This theory, however, confines its operation to the growers of rice, cotton and tobacco, it is of course of no importance to persons not connected with the production of these articles, what the tariff may be, their portion of the burden being thrown upon their more substantial neighbors. I have shewn by an extract from the memorial of the cotton planters, that they conceive themselves benefitted by the system in some measure; I shall therefore, trouble myself no more with the subject, than to make a few remarks upon a corollary that has been drawn from it.—We have been told by the same document "that the fairest portion of this great confederacy, and of Heaven, the most favored region of the earth, is literally undergoing a silent but irresistable process of decay, produced by the gross perversion of the very power, which is under the highest of human obligations to prevent it." I admit that the south is not as flourishing as some portions of this confederacy; but I deny that its depression is to be attributed to the action of the general government, and I am much astonished that any person, could overlook, the plain and palpable causes, there existing, sufficient, (without stimulating the natural prejudices of the people against the general government) to account for all the horrors of even warmer imaginations.

The peculiar character of the emigration alone from the old southern States, an emigration which carries off both the labor and capital of the country, leaving nothing to supply its place, is sufficient to account for many of our miseries.—Does not that labor find the tariff as grinding and oppressive in the south west as in either of the Carolinas? Why then should it abandon its native soil to waste and dessolation? Because fresher and more fertile soil invites it! There are two other causes operating unfavorably to the southern sea board, one a moral, the other a physical cause. I will not however, Sir, dilate on this subject; to me it is an unpleasant one. I love the South with all her misfortunes—I love her—"'tis my own, my native land" "tecum vivere amem, tecum obeam libens," it is from the affection I bear her, I am induced to speak thus plainly to her.

There is another cause operating to the serious disadvantage of the best portion of the South, and I admit, "of Heaven the most favored region," if we regard soil, climate and situation—I mean the interior of the southern country, particularly of North Carolina and Virginia. Why is it that this section is not as flourishing as the interior of New York and Pennsylvania? The climate is equally, if not more congenial to the constitution of the white man, and the soil is more productive in every thing that can contribute to the prosperity of the people.—Why is it, that a silence, as of death, pervades their thousand hills——there we find no busy hum of men, no throng of flocks or herds? 'tis because the hostility of the South to the improvement of the country, leave every thing to nature. We complain that the revenue of the country is collected at the South and expended at the North; if this is true, it is our own fault. Is there a proposition made to remove a sand bar or deepen a river in any part of this country, that does encounter a solid phalanx of hostility, (with a few exceptions) from the whole southern delegation on this floor? During the last session an honorable friend of mine [M. Carson,] when the annual appropriation bill, for the improvement of the harbors of the country was before the House, proclaimed it an imposition on the people.

Does any one propose to appropriate a few thousand dollars from an abundant treasury, to open a road through our beautiful interior, that it may communicate with the markets and civilization of the rest of the world, we are immediately told of violated constitutions, and all the slang which has been current on this floor for the last twenty years about State rights, is repeated "usque ad nauseam." It seems as if some gentlemen supposed every thing which was calculated to promote the prosperity, to enlarge the sphere of action of the mass of the people, was a violation of the constitution.

At the last session of Congress a bill came to this House from the Senate, proposing to settle the policy of our public lands; a bill whose object was to prevent them from being given ultimately to the west; a bill to restore to the old Atlantic States some portion of the treasure they had so liberally spent in purchasing that vast region, and to renumerate them in some measure for the constant drain upon their resources, produced by emigration. Was that bill lost by Southern votes? Let your journals answer.

This government may spend [illegible] lions upon millions on its [illegible] navy; it may pave the [illegible] Indian beyond the Missis[illegible] ages of gold; it may squander enormous amount of our pub[illegible] to purchase a little personal [illegible] ity in the west, and all [illegible] if it attempts to spend one [illegible] the public treasure for the welfare, we are told of violated constitutions. Sir, should the South become, in the process of decay, what one portion of it has been threatened with, a "howling wilderness," there is scarcely a monument on its wide border, of the liberality of those who have governed it, to prove to the industrious antiquarian that it had ever been trod by the foot of civilized man. There might be found some barren and blasted fields as if the Sirocco of the desert had passed over it, but there would be no Appian way resisting the efforts of the barbarian, or the decay of time. I did suppose, when I first entered these walls, something might be done to revive the stagnant and wasting energies of the South, but when I heard what on this floor are proclaimed as Southern doctrines & Southern principles, I felt that sickness of the soul, which awaits on hope deferred. Perhaps it was the result of a retired life, that led me to believe that some higher duty was assigned a member on this floor, than a mere vote for the annual bills to pay the salaries of the government officers, and it may be folly to suppose that a legislator should be, or could be, a benefactor of mankind. I am, however, now satisfied, that a new generation of politicians must arise, after the present one has fretted its little hour upon the stage, before the Southern part of this Union can derive its full share of the benefits of the liberal institutions of the country. [See note 2]

It has often been asserted in the two houses of Congress, that the South in particular would be a gainer by the system of direct taxation, a false position, which has been too currently circulated through the country, although there has been, during the frequent discussions upon this subject, a very satisfactory refutation of this notion. I take it for granted, that the only correct theory is, that the man who buys and consumes an article, is the one upon whom the tax, if any exist, ultimately falls. It is said that in Louisiana, a plantation producing a crop of cotton worth about ten thousand dollars, consumes, in the production of that crop, about two thousand eight hundred dollars' worth of articles not made on the plantation. Of this consumption one-fourth, about seven or eight hundred dollars, is of taxed articles. This is a favorable calculation for all the planters north of Louisiana, particularly for those who make their own pork, as some have told us they do. Let us apply this rule to South Carolina. S. Carolina exports about $8,000,000 of produce. All the productive labor, and all the plantations of South Carolina, are occupied in producing this $8,000,000, one third of which sum, $2,666,666, is the amount of articles consumed, and not produced by the plantations, one fourth of which, viz: $666,666 are articles upon which the General Government levies a revenue. Now supposing the duties constitutes half of the price of an article, an extravagant supposition, the burden which is now weighing South Carolina to the dust, and to throw off which, she is convulsing this country, and placing in jeopardy all our institutions, is $333,333.

Should the amount necessary for the support of the Federal Government be levied by direct taxation, and the negroes of the south pay according to the ratio established in the Constitution, the proportion of South Carolina would be about $900,000. I have selected the State of South Carolina to illustrate this proposition in preference to North Carolina, because, from the nature of the situation of North Carolina, it is impossible to estimiate the amount of her exports. Our southern counties trade to Charleston, and our northern ones wagon such articles as will afford the transportation over bad roads, to Petersburg and Richmond, where they exchange their products, not for State money, but for the money of the Union, and a [illegible] to which the [illegible] is said to be very skilful [illegible] an article [illegible] it can [illegible] makers [illegible] like Pro[illegible] to trade [illegible] olina, however [illegible] the doc[illegible] philosophy, and [illegible] government be dis[illegible] stead of paying her portion of the revenue, upon such articles as are consumed within her border, and by the persons who do consume them, to the amount of some three or four hundred thousand dollars, she would be taxed, according to population, at least a million. Sir, let this government ever exchange the present simple, cheap and least oppressive mode of collecting revenue for its ordinary peace establishment, for the odious system of direct taxation, and it will hear a murmur, to which the present discontent is like "the sweet south wind, breathing o'er a bank of violets."

When I first entered these walls some three years ago, I did so, imbued with the doctrines of the free trade school, I admired them for their liberality, thought them sound in principle, and best adapted to a republic. Disposed to act upon these views I had hardly taken my seat before I discovered that a great political drama was about to be acted, called "the Tariff," that the characters were cast, the dresses provided, the speeches in rehearsal and even the home-made thunder prepared; I found that the old armor of the party was to give place to one more brilliant, more calculated for effect; seeing this to be the state of things, I very coolly and deliberately took my seat in this very comfortable arm-chair, determined to observe in silence the contest, to see if it would prove a tragedy, or a farce.—"Equidim non invideo, miror magis," and here I should have sat contented, had I not discovered that there was no longer safety in inaction; "there is no great divinity in Aye or No!"

There is one point, sir, before I take my seat that I am desirous of saying a few words upon, with no view of arguing the subject, but simply to express an opinion, I mean the constitutionality of our several revenue acts of 1824—'28—'32. I am the more inclined to do so, be-

cause the members of the legislature of N. Carolina, lately acted on the subject, and although they forbore to express any opinions themselves, have asserted that a large part of the people believe those laws unconstitutional. I fully coincide with the general scope and tenor of those resolutions, and rejoice that the legislature of my native State has forborne to lend the sanction of its name to a temporary delusion. And I hope she will continue to pursue that course which honor and which duty points out, treating with contempt the silly and impudent jests and scoffs of idle babblers and stump orators, come they whence they may, or be they whom they may. It is with great diffidence that at any time I would differ from a large portion of the people upon mere constitutional question, but the construction of the Constitution upon this subject has so long been settled by the concurrent sanction of every President, the vast majority of the people and of the ablest jurists of the country, that to doubt now, that these laws are constitutional, is supposing the plainest and most obvious propositions in the Constitution, have for forty years been misunderstood. There is scarcely a public man of any character or standing who for the last forty years has been before the people that has not acquiesced in the exercise of this power, nor do I believe doubts upon the subject were entertained until it was found convenient to retreat behind that eternal scource of disputation the Constitution of the country.

For myself I have always regarded the constitution of our country, as a great charter of human liberty, a charter not wrested by the sword, from some ambitious tyrant, but a free offering of the American people upon the alter of liberty, an offering composed of their local passions, their local prejudices and their local interests. Believing such to be its character I have endeavored to approach its [illegible] with [illegible] attorn[illegible] lanth[illegible] spirit [illegible] was [illegible] gover[illegible] en fo[illegible] power [illegible]

Now sir, [illegible] construction, [illegible] doubt the meaning of those expressions in the constitution? "Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises," &c. "To regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States and with the Indian tribes." It is said the power to lay and collect duties and imposts, is a part of the taxing power, and was intended to supply the government with revenue alone; this is probably true, and very forcibly proves that the words "to regulate commerce" were intended to have a more enlarged construction. The constitution in saying "that no tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State—No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another, nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another," shews clearly that as regards commerce in all its various branches, we are one entire nation, and that the whole subject is surrendered to the federal government. That there is no clause in the constitution giving Congress the power to protect manufactures eo nomine, is certainly true; and it is likewise true that there is no clause in the constitution forbidding the legislature to regulate commerce by discriminating duties, tonage duties or in any other way which to them may seem meet and proper.

It is amusing to observe the inconsistencies in which "the State right gentlemen" involve themselves in arriving at the conclusion that the acts of 1824, 1828, or 1832, are unconstitutional. They tell us when reasoning against the power of the general government to appropriate money for internal improvement, that the constitution must be construed strictly, that all constructive power are dangerous to liberty, that it is inadmissible to seek out of the constitution the meaning of the constitution, that the general government may have the amount of the bond but nothing more, all I ask is, that it may have nothing less. How then do gentlemen discover these acts are unconstitutional, the power over the subject is expressly granted? Will they apply to the proceedings of the convention that framed the instrument, and the traditions of the times, to ascertain the meaning of the words "to regulate commerce?" Certainly not, their principles forbid it.

It is melancholy to see in the political discussions of the country, a constant disposition to reason from the inexpediency of a measure to its unconstitutionality; and whenever a law bears a little upon our pride or our prejudices, a desire to pronounce it unconstitutional. Sir, the man who is not willing to bear a public burden for a public good, has the soul of a slave and is unworthy the name of a free man. If this power does not rest with the general government, we exhibit the singular spectacle of twenty-four republics populous & energetic in themselves; yet self immolated at the shrine of the avarice and extortion of the rest of the world. I said that I merely intended to express an opinion, valueless as it may be: I would have been false to myself, false to every tie that binds me to the society in which I live, more than all I would have been false to those I represent, had I failed to do so.

NOTE I.

This allusion will be unintelligible to to those persons who have not attended to the discoveries which have been made in political science within the last three years at Washington; it is very gravely contended in the report of the Committee of Ways and Means abovementioned, "that whether the duty be laid on the export or the import, it is equally laid in both cases, upon the production of the planter. There cannot be a more palpable and delusive error than the vulgar notion that imported manufactures, which have been purchased by the agricultural staples of this country are foreign productions. They are as strictly and exclusively the production of domestic industry as if they were manufactured in the United States. Looking, then, at the planting and manufacturing States, [illegible] the eye of an enlightened philosopher these two great divisions of the U[illegible] must be regarded as devoting their [illegible] and labor, to the productions of [illegible] articles for the very same market. The southern States manufacture by the agency of ploughs and hoes and horses, what the Northern States manufacture by the agency of machinery," &c. The whole ingenuity of this argument consists in confounding the meaning of two very plain words, viz: property and production, an indistinctness of perception which is occasionally the ruin of many an ingenious gentleman.

NOTE II.

That the Southern people have lost much in spending their time disputing about the meaning of the Constitution, instead of devoting their energies and resources to the improvement of the country, I think must be apparent to every man who will calmly and dispassionately view the whole ground. It is impossible, in this age, for any people to stand still, they must either advance or recede in the scale of importance among nations. The human mind is now so active, so intensely bent on developing all its resources, that those nations which like Spain, or Portugal, with a blind bigotry, shut out every ray of light, must either relapse into barbarism, the prey of military despotism, or sink into insignificance. The desire manifested by many, of increasing the hostility to the improvement of the country, by connecting it with the tariff, is unjust, and an unstatesmanlike view of the subject. There is necessarily no more natural connexion between the tariff and internal improvement, than any other modes of policy which produce great national benefits. With as much propriety may it be said, that the surveying and settlement of the public lands should be arrested, for fear of furnishing, in future times, a valuable market to our domestic manufactures. These manufactures must, in process of time, if they succeed in supplying the home market, reduce the revenue: the policy, therefore, that would unite these two interests is rather short-sighted, if it is supposed that one is to become a permanent fund to aid the other. While this temporary swell in the Treasury, produced by the American System, exists, sound policy demands that a surplus, unavoidably remaining in our coffers, should be applied to the improvement of the country.

There is another reason for this view of the subject, which I wish to address to the South in the words of Mr. McDuffie. In his letter on the subject of internal improvement, published in the New Ark Advocate, of March 15, 1828, are these words: "I think the Southern and Western States are the natural advocates of a system of internal improvements, and I regret that the constitutional scruples of a portion of the Southern people should prevent a hearty co operation. This is the only form in which the Southern States can be indemnified for the tax levied upon them, to sustain the manufactures of the Eastern States." That a power of this character, may be abused is very true, such is the fate of all human undertakings; it has however, as yet, never been much abused, and from the conflicting interest always found on the floor of Congress, it is not very likely to be, the whole sum ever expended by the government of the United States, in drawing forth the resources of the country, by aiding works purely intended for that purpose, does not yet amount to the expenses of its army and navy for one year.

Elizabeth-City:

Saturday, March 2, 1833.

In order to lay before our readers entire the speech of Mr. Shepard, our representative in Congress, on the subject of the Tariff, we have been compelled to issue a small extra this week; and even then it has occupied our columns to the exclusion of almost every thing else.—We are pleased with the remarks of Mr. S. and recommend them to the attention of our readers.

The Weather.—Since yesterday morning we have had a little of all sorts of weather—clear and cloudy—temperate and freezing—windy and calm—vivid lightning and heavy thunder—rain and snow. As March has come upon us like a lion, we hope it will leave us like a lamb.

A fight occurred at Barnwell, S. C. recently between four persons, two of each party, in which dirks and sword canes were used. Both of the Union men were wounded, one it is feared mortally.

A fire occured in Charleston on the 16th ult. which destroyed about 40 buildings.

Duff Green, editor of the U. S. Telegraph, has been elected printer to the Senate, and Messrs. Gales & Seaton, editors of the National Intelligencer, printers to the House of Representatives.

The communication on the subject of Nullification has been crowded out this week. It shall appear in our next.

Congress.—The bill further to provide for the collection of duties, passed the Senate on the 20th ult. after a fatiguing and protracted debate, by a vote of 32 to 1. Fifteen Senators were absent on taking the final question. It is thought that this bill will fail in the lower House for want of time to bring it to maturity.

It is highly probable (says the Alexandria Gazette) that nothing will be settled as to the Tariff before Congress adjourns; nor is it important.—The next Congress will be better prepared for the subject, and can act without the consciousness of being influenced by the threats of S. Carolina. It is particularly desirable, however, that if no compromise of the Tariff is effected, the Collection bill should not pass; to pass the latter without the qualification of the former, would look like a deliberate attempt to force South Carolina to put her threats into execution, altho' it is evident she is only in want of a decent excuse to retract them.—Force should not be resorted to until the resort to the civil tribunals has been tried and failed.

From Washington.—Mr. Clay's bill to modify and adjust the Tariff was taken up in the Senate on the 21st and Mr. Clay introduced an amendment, proposing that after the year 1842 the *home* valuation shall be adopted, in the place of the foreign. To this Mr. Calhoun objected, and it gave rise to considerable discussion.

The Richmond Compiler of the 26th ult. says—"Letters, it is said, state Mr. Clay's amended Tariff bill passed to its 3d reading, in the Senate on Saturday night, by a majority of 7. Its fate is doubtful in the House of Representatives, though it was generally expected to fail.

In the House of Representatives, the Revenue Collection Bill is reported to have obtained on Saturday, the precedence in the discussion, over Mr. Verplanck's bill, by a majority of 112 to 65."

Treaty with Russia Concluded.—We learn from the Globe, that Mr. J. R. Clay, Secretary to the Legation of the United States at St. Petersburg, has arrived in Washington, bearing a treaty of Amity and Commerce, concluded between the United States and the Emperor of Russia, which it is understood, will be immediately submitted to the Senate for ratification.

DIED,

In this town on Sunday last, ALEXANDER ROBMON, aged 4 years & 7 months, only son of Mr. Richard N. Torrans, late of Newbern, N. C.

MARINE LIST.

PORT OF ELIZABETH CITY.

ARRIVED SINCE OUR LAST.

26th, Brig George, Simpson, 14 days from Nevis via Crooked Island, in ballast.

" Schr. Sarah Ann, Tillett, 7 days from New York, mdze. to Jno. Williams, Miles White and Sam'l Williams.

" Schr. Banner, Harding, 7 days from ditto, in ballast.

27th, Schr. Perfect, Jenkins, 6 days from Savannah, in ballast.

22th, Steamboat Lady of the Lake, from Norfolk, with transportation boats Halifax and Nottoway.

" Schr. Ladies' Fancy & Sailors' Delight, Ward, 6 days from Savannah, balst.

SAILED.

25th, Steamboat Petersburg, Bell, for the Roanoke, with boats in tow.

1st inst. Schr. A. & H. Haddocks, Sears, for Martinico, staves and shingles by Robt. M. Knox.

" Schr. Sophia & Eliza, Summers, ditto ditto, by B. Tisdale.

" Schr. Jolly Sailor, Butler, for Charleston, corn by T. R. Cobb.

" Schr. Elvina, Horton, for Boston, corn by H. Lockwood.

" Schr. Banner, Harding, for Plymouth, N. C. for freight.

" Schr. Perfect, Jenkins, ditto, ditto.

To sail to-day.

Brig William Penn, Sears, for West Indies, staves, shingles and peas by M. White and T. P. Williams.

THE SUBSCRIBER

HAVING bought out the entire stock of goods of Wm. D. Gordan, has removed them to the wharf in the store house formerly occupied by Alpheus Fobes, where he solicits a share of trade from his friends and the public generally. These goods were laid in for cash in the city of New York, and will be sold as low as any goods in the place, for cash, country produce or notes.

James M. Grice.

Who has just received and offers for sale at his store,

200 bushels first quality yellow Irish Potatoes,
Bbls. mess and prime Pork,
Bbls family, superfine & fine Flour
Bbls. Whiskey and Rum,
Molasses, Rice, Butter, Cheese,
Coffee, Sugar, Soap, Candles,
Codfish, Onions, Butter Crackers,
Pilot and navy Bread,
And every other article in the grocery line.

Elizabeth City, March 2.

SALT.

7500 bush. Turks Island SALT, For sale by
MILES WHITE.

March 2.

SHOES and HATS.

Just received from New York, via the Dismal Swamp Canal,
Gentlemen's fashionable bl'k Hats,
Youths do do do,
Low price and common Hats.

SHOES.

Ladies bl'k and col'd French morocco Slippers,
Do do Prunella and lasting do.
Do do thick soaled morocco Shoes,
Do Seal skin Shoes with straps,
Do leather Shoes,
Men's fine Brogans, Shoes & Pumps,
Ditto thick stout Brogans for labourers.

ALSO—IN STORE.

3000 lbs. Bacon, Hams and Shoulders, for sale on accommodating terms.

W. T. BRYANT.

Sept. 28.

"The greatest and best."

CIGARS of the best quality, (real Spanish) may be obtained by calling at the Apothecary store.

T. C. Mathews.

Dec. 8.

The Subscriber Magic Matches!

A few of these very useful matches are just received and for sale by
T. C. MATHEWS.

ALSO—COLD CREAM, Milk of Roses and a fresh supply of fancy Soaps.

Dec. 8.

The American Farmer.

A neat weekly paper in quarto form, edited by Gideon B. Smith, is published in Baltimore, Md. by I. Irvine Hitchcock, at $5 per annum.

It is devoted exclusively to Agriculture, Horticulture, and Rural and Domestic Economy. It contains also every week the prices current in the commercial and common markets, of the principal commodities which farmers want to buy or sell, and such intelligence foreign and domestic as is interesting to them with regard to the current value of their produce.

Contents of No. 50 Vol. 14.

Editorial; Preserved Yeast; To make Good Wheat Bread; To make Fine Rusk; To make Apple Dumplings—Remarks on the Warranton Grapevine, by T. McCall—Experiments in Caloric—Foreign Markets—Remarks on Agriculture—On the Culture of corn with the Plough, unassisted by the Hoe, by Thomas Parker—Account of Several Premium Crops of Corn and Potatoes, by Dr. C. W. Capers—Seed Wheat, Chess, &c.—Cultivation of the Poppy—Difference between buying Potatoes and having them to sell--Field Culture of Carrots—Vines best adapted to Culture, &c. in the latitude of Baltimore, after ten years Experience and Observation, by Robert Sinclair—On the Culture of Rhubarb, by John D. Legare, Editor of the Southern Agriculturist, continued—Cause of the Variation of Fruits, &c. produced from Seed—Yellow Locust—Remarks on the Barberry—Pebble Stone Fence—Samuel S. Griscom's Meteorological Journal for January—Prices Current of Country produce in the New York and Baltimore Markets—Advertisements.

Those who wish to see the American Farmer, with a view to subscribing for it, may address the publisher by mail, (free of postage,) who will send a specimen of the work containing terms, &c. for examination. All postmasters are agents for the work.

Ten Dollars Reward.

[illegible] for the apprehension [illegible] absconded from [illegible] morning of 5th January, 1833. Said apprentice is about [illegible] years of age badly grown, [illegible] complexion, grey eyes, red [illegible] hair, white eye brows and eye lashes, has a scar on his left cheek, and had on when he went off a dark mixed roundabout jacket and pantaloons. He is very artful, though extremely ignorant: of immoral propensities, and much addicted to falsehood.

It is our fixed determination to prosecute to the extremity of the law all persons who may have been aiding or abetting in his escape, and we will pay *Twenty Dollars* for such information as will convict any one of harboring or employing him.

Masters of Vessels and others are cautioned against carrying said apprentice out of the Borough.

SHIELDS & ASHBURN.

Beacon Office, Norfolk, 16th. Feb.

T. C. MATHEWS, M. D.

VERY respectfully tenders his Professional Services to his friends and the public in the *Clinical, Surgical* and *Obstetrical* practice of Medicine. He may be consulted at his office, two doors south of Mr. Bryant's store. His charges for *Professional Services* will be those which were unanimously agreed on by the Physicians of this County.

RUSSELL

Has just received per schr. Leo, from New York,

Pineapple and common box Cheese, Newark Cider, Oranges, Almonds, Raisins, Apples, Butter Crackers, Butter, Sperm Candles, Figs and Ladies' Baskets.

Expects daily an additional supply of PERFUMERY and MEDICINE.

Salt! Salt!!

3,000 bush. heavy dry Turks Island Salt,
100 sacks Salt.

In store and for sale by
Wm. T. Bryant.

Dec. 1.

Blanks executed at this office.

Continued from 1st page.

sent to resist the laws of this government, it will be such resistance as freemen should make, with arms in their hands and not a pettifogging chicanery, through the courts.

But, sir, if the bill of 1832, was radically wrong, the same objections apply to the bill on your table, it has also the mark of the beast upon it.—This bill does not restore the credit system, it does not restore the false valuation of the pound sterling, it has likewise discriminating duties, it only carries out the principle of the bill of 1832, and reduces the revenue nearer to the wants of the Government. Its discriminating duties are of a more partial character than any bill ever presented to this House; it protects some species of iron, (the most oppressive part of the tariff,) by a duty of 76 per cent. while cotton goods, a manufacture nearly acclimated, are protected by a duty of 20 per cent. When, however, the contest is for principle, I will not do any one the injustice to suppose that money will answer, should it amount to thousands; and unless that principle is yielded, nothing has been gained. I do not know how gentlemen will vote on the final passage of this bill; all that I am anxious about is, that if hereafter, there should be any charge of inconsistency, it may rest precisely where truth and justice demand.

This act of 1832 was no favorite of mine: I was satisfied it would not answer the purpose for which it was intended, and that it did not extend its own principle sufficient for the occasion. During all the discussion on that subject, I watched the scene with a great deal of anxiety; I was desirous of seeing a deliberate expression of opinion between the two great antagonist principles in the country, "protection and no protection," or if there were a third principle that would satisfy all parties. I listened, in vain, for the latter principle: I heard day after day speeches upon crude and ill digested theories, but heard nothing more practicable than the mode of concession proposed in the bill of 1832.

The principle of collecting the revenue by duties on imports, to give incidental protection to the manufacturers of the country, establishes nothing new in our legislation, it is a doctrine as old as the Constitution, and in 1816, when this matter of the tariff first began, it was distinctly admitted by the anti-tariff party. When the tariff of 1816, (the cause of all our woe,) was under discussion, Mr. Telfair of Georgia, a strenuous opposer of that bill, said, "he would not deny that in the imposition of duties, for the purpose of revenue, it is wise to select your objects; that while the original intent is secured, the interest of the manufacturer is regarded as an incidental consideration." It is not, however, necessary to go so far back into our history, for a legislative recognition of this principle. The present President of the United States in his message to this House, of December 8th, 1829, said, "looking forward to the period not far distant, when a sinking fund will no longer be required, the duties on those articles of importation, which cannot come in competition with our productions are the first that should engage the attention of Congress, in the modification of the tariff. Of these, tea and coffee are the most prominent; they enter largely into the consumption of the country, and have become articles of necessity to all classes. A reduction therefore of the existing duties will be felt as a common benefit, but like all other legislation connected with commerce to be efficacious and not injurious, it should be gradual and certain."—In compliance with this executive recommendation, the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means of that day, [Mr. McDuffie] reported a bill to this House, reducing the duty on tea and coffee, which became a law, and which I voted for with great pleasure.

The address of the anti-tariff convention of southern people, assembled in Philadelphia, in 1831, likewise admits the constitutionality of a tariff for incidental protection.—That address, said to have been written by one of the gentlemen who signs this Georgia manifesto against the act of July, 1832, [Mr. Berrien,] contains these words.—"They admit the power of Congress (speaking of the opinion in the South,) to lay and collect such duties as they may deem necessary for the purposes of revenue, and within these limits so to arrange *these duties as incidentally and to that extent to give protection to the manufacturer.*"

It seems to me if we are to raise a revenue by imposts, it is a matter of but little consequence to the community generally, upon what articles it is raised, take for example sugar and coffee. Can it make any difference to the consumer of these two articles, (I take it for granted he is the only person concerned,) whether he pays 2 1-2 cents a pound on sugar, and a half cent on coffee, or three cents on sugar and nothing on coffee? I contend it does not; the drinker of a cup of coffee neither feels or cares upon which of the two articles he pays the duty. It makes, however, a vast difference to a large and valuable interest in the nation, for by one process you injure the sugar planter, without communicating a benefit to any interest whatever.—If it really makes any difference to the mass of the community, of such vast magnitude, upon what articles the revenue of the country is raised, I confess I cannot perceive it, and I presume it is only visible to our political metaphysicians,

"Who have optics keen,
Enabling them to see things not to be seen."

One assertion, I presume is as good as another in this matter, I have therefore no hesitation in saying that under all the circumstances of the case, and considering the situation of the country the act of 1832, was a great and valuable concession of the majority of this House, to the alleged grievances of the minority.—For if there is a principle which should be held sacred in the legislation of this country, it is that an interest created by the law should not be wantonly destroyed by the law.—If, moreover, the bill of July was not as beneficial to the South as it might have been, it was in some measure the fault of the South, the bill as originally reported contained a clause giving partial relief to the shipping interest of the country, from the excessive burden laid on that interest by the tariff of 1828, this clause was struck out by southern votes. It requires, I should suppose, no argument to prove, that a free trade people ought to encourage the shipping interest, and if the people of the South are, as we have been told industriously engaged in manufacturing British woollens out of Southern cotton, they ought as a reward for their ingenuity be permitted to carry these articles to market in an untaxed vessel. [See note 1]

Did I believe it essential to the prosperity or welfare of the Southern States, that the manufactories of the North should be levelled with the dust, it would be an unpleasant duty to vote a benefit to myself, which would be the entire ruin of another. A few summers ago, while flying from the demon of ill-health, I visited New England, I found her towns and villages crowded with an industrious and enterprizing population, her hills and valleys, redolent with health, prosperity and contentment, every mind seemed to be intent, every hand was occupied: the world does not contain a more flourishing community. There the advantages of education are extended to the poorest individual in society and that society receives its remuneration in his sober, industrious and economical habits. If the divine Plato, were alive, he would no longer draw upon his imagination for a specimen of a perfect republic; he would there find a community, in which the humblest individual had the same voice with his more wealthy neighbor, in laying the public burdens for the public welfare. I asked myself if it were possible that the prosperity of this people could be the hot-bed production of an artificial system, or rather if it were not the result of a long continued toil, of an industry that never tired, of an economy that never slept.—I looked upon the scene around me with no feeling of murmuring discontent, I felt the more rejoiced that it was a part of my country.

"Homo sun humani nil a me alienum puto," was said by a free Roman slave. Those persons who will study the mode of assessing taxes in New England for schools and other purposes, her town meetings, in fact the whole organization of society in that community, must have a strange misapprehension of things, if they can discover any aristocratic principle. They will find, however, an elasticity of character, a facility of adapting their situation to the times, great moral energies which will enable them, should your legislation prostrate them to the earth, to rise, like Antæus, with new vigor from the fall.

It is contended by some of those persons who complain the most of the operation of the General Government [Mr. McDuffie's speech, May, 1832,] "that it could no longer be disguised that under the unjust legislation of Congress, and without any agency of Providence a radical hostility of interests existed between the two great sub-divisions of this confederacy." Now, Sir, I deny, that such hostility does exist, or that there is any fair reason for presuming it can be made by any legislation of Congress to exist; the great father of our institutions, foreseeing this state of things has told us, that upon this rock we were likely to split; he implored us in his last advice to resist such an impression, to scout such an idea. We are daily becoming more and more the same people, in our habits, pursuits and interests, and travellers have already remarked the sameness of American life and manners. The constant and daily communication among our people is wearing away, by the friction of social intercourse the petty prejudices of situation. "Mountains interposed, no longer make enemies of nations." I knew that there was a party in this country, dating their origin from the adoption of the constitution, who have always been endeavoring to persuade the people of the different States, that they have contrariant interests—a party composed of restless, ambitious spirits, who had "rather be the first man of an Alpine village than the second man at Rome," I did however, hope that this sect was gradually dwindling into insignificance. I firmly believe the interests of this country so dependent on each other, that it is impossible, for one part, permanently to flourish, without communicating its prosperity to those around it: this fact has been satisfactorily attested by the astonishing results of the internal Improvement of the country. Who has not heard of a new World brought into existence in the western part of New-York, by the genius of Clinton? With a mind soaring above the miserable economists of his day, he penetrated the mysteries of nature, dissipated the prejudices of the weak, the fears of the timid, and, like Columbus opened a new world to the enterprize of his countrymen. Why then should I, or any man, wish to cripple the prosperity of two thirds of this Union with the vain or illusory idea of benefitting the other third?

This question of the tariff has been discussed repeatedly, and very properly, as one peculiarly interesting to the South; I will consider it for a few moments, as it affects that portion of the country. In doing so, I shall consider it entirely as a question of compromise; I have not that contempt for compromise which some gentlemen seem to entertain, if we were legislating for a horde of savages who chased their daily food over the neighboring hills, and in case of accident depended upon plunder or the roots of the forest for subsistence, we might despise all compromise; but in legislating for a highly refined and artificial state of society, we should remember that civilization is the result of compromise. Our Constitution is itself the result of compromise, and the history of the very clauses under which we are now acting (with which I will not trouble the House) is a strong illustration of its general character.

It is very common, in the political manœuvring of this country, to start a theory, and by way of giving it currency and enlisting the prejudices of an ardent people, to call it the southern doctrine; on "argument alone my faith is founded," and I shall support no doctrines and no theories my understanding does not teach me are correct and proper.—Although I am opposed to the tariff system in general, I do not think it that "monstrum horrendum" some gentlemen seem to suppose it: I neither think it produces the billious fever at Charleston, nor the yellow fever at New Orleans; it has sins enough of its own to bear: I will not saddle it with those of the imagination.

The great doubt originally entertained upon the capacity of this country to manufacture for itself caused many persons to oppose the system. It was thought premature; that the country was too young, that we had too much waste land, offering a healthier and better occupation for our population; the experiment has however been tried, the country has paid part of the cost of the experiment.—It is now admitted that we manufacture some articles as cheap in this country as in any other, and we have been informed by documents laid on our tables that $250,000,000 are invested in the different manufactories of the country. Can this amount of capital be destroyed in any part of our country without producing distress and embarrassment throughout its wide border? I should suppose no political economist could for a moment doubt upon such a proposition: at all events, I am satisfied it would very seriously affect that section of the country whose interests are confided to my care.

If there are any two sections of this country designed by nature for a close political and commercial Union, they are the Southern part of the Chesapeake Bay, the sea coast of N. Carolina and the New England States. Our earliest colonial history contains the most satisfactory evidence of this connexion: the cheap navigators of the north, then formed, and yet form, our principal means of intercourse with the markets of the world; while, at the same time, N. England is becoming a great and growing consumer of our products. Of the article of southern corn alone, the towns of Boston and Providence consumed in 1831, 897,793 bushels Would it not then be madness to destroy this market, without some positive and certain assurance of bettering the condition of the country? As gentlemen tell us therefore, this is entirely a cent. per cent. question, let the corn planter ask himself if he is not willing to pay a higher duty on broad cloth than on coffee, for a few years, sooner than prostrate his best customer, and drive him to the fertile lands of Michigan and Indiana for a maintenance?

I said that the bill on your table carried out the principle of the act of 1832, and reduced the revenue of the country nearer the wants of the government. It does so with a few exceptions, where those exceptions propose to impose a duty, I shall vote against them. I shall therefore vote for the amendment before us, for striking out the duty on tea and coffee. I cannot, in January, vote to put on a duty which in July preceding I voted to take off, when no sufficient reason has been assigned for doing so inconsistent an act. Were I to give such a vote, I should in truth suppose I deserved some of the epithets which have been so liberally bestowed on the Congress of the United States that passed the act of July, 1832. The duty on tea and coffee is likewise a violation of the principle on which the bill is reported, which if I understand it is, to reduce the revenue to the wants of the government committing as little violence as possible to the existing interests of the country. This is the principle contained in the President's annual Message, where he says "the soundest maxims of public policy and the principles upon which our republican institutions are founded recommend a proper adaptation of the revenue to the expenditure; and they also require that the expenditure should be limited to what, by an economical administration, shall be consistent with the simplicity of the government, and necessary to an efficient public service. In effecting this adjustment, it is due in justice to the interest of the different States, and even of the preservation of the Union itself, that the protection afforded by existing laws to any branches of the national industry, should not exceed what may be necessary to counteract the regulations of foreign nations, and to secure a supply of those articles of manufacture essential to the national independence and safety in time of war. If upon investigation, it shall be found as it is believed it will be, that the legislative protection granted to any particular interest, is greater than is indispensably requisite for these objects, I recommend that it be gradually diminished, and as far as may be consistent with these objects, the whole scheme of duties be reduced to the revenue standard as soon as a just regard to the faith of the government and to the preservation of the large capital invested in establishments of domestic industry will permit.

That the revenue should be reduced to the wants of the government, is one of those plain and palpable truths which I suppose would be assented to on all sides. In fact this proposition has been admitted by several gentlemen who are opposed to all the provisions of this bill. I would therefore, observe to the gentlemen, that as they have the majority on this floor if this bill is injudicious they ought to amend it in such a way as to reduce the revenue six millions of dollars, the surplus mentioned by the Secretary of the Treasury, with as little injury as possible to themselves.—For it never can be expected that the people of this country will consent to pay more money than is necessary for the ordinary wants of the government, either for the protection of manufactures, internal improvements, or any other purposes.

And yet, Sir I would not narrow down the government to a mean and niggardly economy.

That a duty on imports is necessarily a tax on any part of the community, although the converse of the proposition is paradoxical at first sight, I do not think has been satisfactorily maintained. Take for example, the articles of salt, coffee and molasses; on these three articles the Congress of the United States have been reducing the duties, with a view of reducing the price of them to the country; and yet such has not been the result. We find that when we took the duty off of salt in this country, the article rose in the West Indies; the truth is, the possession of the American market is so essential to the producers of these articles, that they are obliged to have it at all hazards, and consequently whenever Congress lays a heavy duty, their profits are reduced down to the lowest ebb that will sustain the business, their situation compels them to follow.

And yet [illegible] facts curious as they appear, [illegible] grounds for a [illegible] although such, [illegible] matter, the commerce of the country is vitally interested in the proportion as we cultivate an intercourse with those nations, who, by position or by natural advantages in the production of such articles as are necessary for our comfort or pleasure, are disposed to trade with us on fair terms of reciprocity, we promote the general welfare of society and give a stimulous to the commerce of the country, which, next to agriculture, should be the favorite of the nation. Should it be true, therefore, that the consumer of coffee would be no wise interested, whether there is a duty on it or not, still, the ship owner, who transports the article, the corn planter and the lumber getter, whose productions are exchanged for it, are interested that the trade should be on the most liberal footing.—I will not, therefore, as a representative of a portion of this interest assist in laying a burden on it, not required by the policy of the government or essential to its revenue.

I have no doubt, Sir, this tariff matter can be adjusted, if we will approach it candidly and fairly, divesting it of its political bearings, without producing injury or shewing unjust partiality towards any portion of the country. In laying a revenue duty so as to give incidental protection, let us select those manufactures whose interests are deeply rooted and widely spread throughout the country, viz: cottons, woollens and sugar.

It is said and admitted here generally that we manufacture coarse cottons in this country as cheaply as in any part of the world, the price being less than the duty; therefore, cannot possibly be a burden on any one. The memorial of the anti-tariff convention says, "the duty is nominal in reference to most of the goods under 15 cents, which not only are afforded as cheap by the American manufacturer as the foreign article, but compete with this in foreign markets."—Why then disturb it, is it not the part of wisdom to let well enough alone?

The amount of cotton made in the United States, in the year ending in October, 1831, was 375,925,303 pounds, in 1819—87,397,645 pounds, there is now manufactured in this country more than one fifth of the whole production, about one third of what Great Britain manufactures at the present time. The manufacture of cotton has increased 100 per cent in the last four years, an increase greater than ever took place in Great Britain in the same space of time; these facts manifest be-

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